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Publications

OF THE

Pistorical Society of Pennsylbania.

CHAMBERSBURG.

PRESENTED TO THE PUBLICATION FUND.

THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF

PENNSYLVANIA.

President.
THOMAS SERGEANT.

Vice-Presidents.

J. R. TYSON, WILLIAM SHIPPEN, CHARLES MINER, Wilkes-Barré, GEORGE CHAMBERS, Chambersburg.

Corresponding Secretary. HORATIO G. JONES.

Recording Secretary. FRANK M. ETTING.

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EDWARD ARMSTRONG.
ALEXANDER JOHNSTON,
MORTON P. HENRY,
JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
CHARLES S. KEYSER,

1856.

Constitution.

ARTICLE I. This association shall be called "The Historical Society of Pennsylvania"—and its object shall be the elucidation of the history of this State; though other branches of history shall not be excluded.

ARTICLE II. The Society shall be composed of such persons as have been, or may be, elected, from time to time, according to its laws and regulations.

ARTICLE III. The officers of the Society shall be annually chosen, by a majority of ballots, at the stated meeting in February, and shall consist of a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Librarian. No person shall be eligible to the office of President at more than two out of three, or Vice-President at more than four out of five, successive elections.

ARTICLE IV. It shall be the duty of the President, or in his absence of the Vice-Presidents, in rotation, to preside at the meetings of the Society, to preserve order, to regulate the debates, to state motions and questions, and to announce the decisions thereupon. If neither the President nor any of the Vice-Presidents be present at a meeting, the Society may choose a member to act as President at that meeting.

ARTICLE V. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct and have charge of the correspondence of the Society; he shall notify all members of their election—and shall assist the Recording Secretary in the reading of all letters and other documents at the meetings.

ARTICLE VI. The Recording Secretary shall keep full and correct minutes of the proceedings of the Society, and shall have the same transcribed into a book of record. He shall give due notice of any special meeting that may be called.

ARTICLE VII. The Treasurer shall have charge of the moneys and other funds belonging to the Society. He shall collect the contributions of the members, and other income of the Society, and shall pay such claims against the Society as shall have been duly examined and ordered to be paid. He shall annually present, at the stated meeting in December, a statement of his receipts and expenditures during the preceding year, with a full report on the financial condition of the Society.



ARTICLE VIII. The Librarian shall have charge of the books, manuscripts, and other property in the rooms of the Society, and shall arrange and preserve the same in proper and convenient order. He shall keep an arranged catalogue of the books, manuscripts, and other donations, with the names of the donors. At the stated meeting in January, he shall annually present a report to the Society, embracing an account of his administration of the library, and of its condition during the preceding year.

ARTICLE IX. Vacancies which may occur in any of the above-named offices shall be filled by an election at the next stated meeting after such vacancy shall have been announced to the Society; but such election shall be only for the unexpired term of the person vacating the office.

ARTICLE X. The Society shall hold stated meetings on the second Monday evening of every month. Special meetings may be called by the President or one of the Vice-Presidents, by giving at least three days' notice thereof in not less than two of the daily newspapers published in the City of Philadelphia. The members present at any meeting shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE XI. No alteration shall be made in this Constitution unless the proposed amendments shall have been drawn up in writing and read to the Society at three successive monthly stated meetings. Nor shall any such amendment be considered as adopted unless sanctioned by the votes of three-fourths of the members present at the meeting when the question shall be taken upon its adoption.

Laws.

ARTICLE I. The election of members shall be by ballot, and shall form part of the business at every stated meeting.

ARTICLE II. A member may at any meeting nominate, in writing, a candidate for membership, and the nomination so made may be concurred in and signed by other members.

ARTICLE III. No person shall be balloted for, unless his nomination, with the names of the members proposing him, shall have been publicly read to the Society at the stated meeting preceding that at which the balloting takes place; nor shall any candidate be deemed duly elected unless threefourths of the ballots cast shall have been in his favor. ARTICLE IV. Those members shall be deemed qualified voters at the meetings and elections, who have subscribed to the Constitution, and who have paid all their dues to the Society.

ARTICLE V. Before entering upon an election for members, the Secretary shall announce the names of the several candidates, and any member may then, for the information of the Society, speak of their character and qualifications for membership.

ARTICLE VI. The names of the candidates and their places of residence shall be designated on the ballot-boxes, and the names of the members qualified to vote shall then be called by the Secretary. The members shall then ballot for the several candidates—a white ball being considered in favor of the candidate.

ARTICLE VII. The balloting being gone through, the boxes shall be opened and the result of the poll declared by the presiding officer. The papers containing the names of the unsuccessful candidates shall be immediately destroyed; but the written nominations of the members elected shall be preserved by the Secretary for future reference.

ARTICLE VIII. Every new member, upon his introduction into the Society, shall be presented to the presiding officer, and shall sign the Constitution of the Society.

ARTICLE IX. Such members as reside within the City of Philadelphia, shall pay an annual contribution of three dollars. The payment of twenty dollars at one time, by a member not in arrears to the Society, shall constitute him a member for life, with an exemption from all future annual payments. And any member liable to an annual contribution, who shall neglect or refuse to pay the same for the term of two years, shall be notified by the Treasurer, in writing, that his rights as a member are suspended—and in case the said arrears are not paid when the third annual contribution shall have become due, the membership of such defaulting member shall then be forfeited, his name stricken from the roll, and reported to the Society by the Treasurer.

ARTICLE X. On the Society being informed of the death of a member, the fact shall be entered on the records, and a member may be appointed to prepare an obituary notice of the deceased. The obituary notices of members shall be read to the Society, and they shall be bound together whenever they are sufficiently numerous to form a volume.

ARTICLE XI. There shall be chosen at the stated meeting on the second Monday of February, in each year, the following Standing Committees, viz:

three members of the Society to be a Committee of Finance; three to be a Committee of Publication, and three to be a Committee on the Library. And the members of these Committees together with the officers of the Society, shall form an Executive Committee, with full power to direct the business affairs of the Society, and they shall meet at the Hall on the fourth Monday of every month.

ARTICLE XII. The Committee of Finance shall have the general superintendence of the financial concerns of the Society; they shall audit and certify all bills for payment by the Treasurer; they shall always have access to his books, accounts, and vouchers, and shall examine and audit his annual report. They shall consult with the Treasurer, and authorize and direct the investment of surplus funds. They shall also have power to remit the dues from members in cases where they shall judge that circumstances make it proper to do so.

ARTICLE XIII. The Committee of Publication shall superintend the printing and distribution of such publications as may be ordered to be made by the Society, and approved by the Trustees of the Publication Fund. They shall have power to call on the Librarian for his assistance in the performance of their duties.

ARTICLE XIV. The Committee on the Library shall confer with and assist the Librarian in the general care and management of the library, and in the disbursement of such appropriations as may be made by the Society for its increase and maintenance, as well as in the disposition and arrangement of the books, maps, and documents belonging to the Society.

ARTICLE XV. All committees shall be chosen, unless the Society shall otherwise direct, on nominations previously made and seconded, the question being taken on the appointment of each member of the committee separately. The member first elected of any committee shall be the chairman, and considered responsible for the discharge of the duties of the committee. A majority of any committee shall be a quorum.

ARTICLE XVI. Special committees shall report at the meeting next after that at which they were appointed, unless otherwise ordered by the Society; and on the failure of any committee to make a final report at the proper time, unless a satisfactory reason for their delay be given, they shall be discharged, and the matter dropped or referred to another committee, as the Society shall determine. All reports shall be in writing, and signed by the members agreeing thereto.

ARTICLE XVII. The names of the committees, the times of their appointment, the matter of business committed to them, and the time when their

report is presented, shall be entered by the Secretary in a book to be provided for the purpose.

ARTICLE XVIII. The Librarian shall attend at the library between the hours of 12 and 1 P. M., and on every Monday evening between the hours of 8 and 10.

ARTICLE XIX. No alteration or amendment of the laws and regulations of the Society shall be made or considered, unless the same shall have been duly proposed and fairly drawn up in writing at one stated meeting of the Society, and laid over for consideration and enactment at the next stated meeting; nor shall any such alteration, amendment, or regulation be considered as passed or binding upon the members, unless the same be sanctioned by the vote of three-fourths of the number of qualified members then present.

ARTICLE XX. The laws and regulations contained in the foregoing nineteen articles shall be in force from and after the time of their adoption by the Society, and thereafter all other laws and regulations heretofore made by the Society, and not contained in its Constitution, shall be, and the same are hereby repealed.

Order of Business.

- I. The chair taken by the presiding officer.
- II. Names of members present minuted.
- III. New members presented, and visitors from other societies introduced.
- IV. Records read of last stated meeting, and of any subsequent special meeting.
 - V. Correspondence read:
 - a. Acknowledgment of election to membership.
 - b. Letters from corresponding societies.
 - c. Other letters.
 - VI. Donations and other additions announced:
 - a. To the library.
 - b. Other donations or additions.
 - WII. Reports and communications on historical and literary subjects.

VIII. Obituary notices of members read, and announcements of the decease of members made and acted on.

- IX. Pending nominations for membership and new nominations read.
- X. Balloting for candidates for membership, and other stated business.
- XI. Reports on business from officers and committees.
- XII. Deferred business.
- XIII. New business.
- XIV. Minutes of the meeting read and submitted for correction.
- XV. The Society adjourned by the presiding officer.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

Fund

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF ORIGINAL, AND THE REPRINT OF RARE AND VALUABLE, WORKS ON STATE AND NATIONAL HISTORY.

Trustees.
GEORGE W. NORRIS,
JOHN JORDAN, Jr.,
HARRY CONRAD.

Present State
of Hund.
Interest only used:
\$10,000.

The Publication Fund is composed of subscriptions of twenty dollars each, the payment of which, by any person, obtains the right to receive during life, or a public library for twenty years, a copy of all the publications of the Society. This Fund is of recent establishment, yet its increase has been rapid and steady. The selection of works for the press is determined by the concurrence of both the Society and the Trustees; either having a negative upon the acts of the other in this respect. The first issued is the History of Braddock's Expedition, by Winthrop Sargent; a handsome octavo volume of four hundred and twenty pages, with valuable maps and engravings. This interesting work has been very favorably received by the public—the first edition of one thousand being now nearly exhausted. By a special resolution, persons who become subscribers to the Fund before the first day of May, 1856, will be entitled to a copy of

this History, and copies of Latrobe's Mason and Dixon's Line, and Foulke's Right Use of History; and until the first of October, 1856, to a copy of Garrard's Chambersburg in the Colony and the Revolution.

It gives the Trustees pleasure to state that Mason and Dixon's Line was paid for by a subscription among the members of the Society; Mr. Foulke presented The Right Use of History; and Dr. Garrard presented the work written by him. The only work thus far printed at the cost of the Fund, is Braddock's Expedition.

Early notice should be given of any delay in the receipt of books.

Every available opportunity is embraced by the Society to collect and preserve materials for the history of our Commonwealth, and to secure a just tribute from posterity to the memory of citizens who have been in any way distinguished by local or general services. It is hoped that historical notices of towns and counties, memoranda of remarkable facts, biographical and genealogical notices, and letters, diaries, and other manuscripts, will continue to be sent to the Society. It is suggested that, in all cases of contribution, there should also be furnished, as far as practicable, a statement of such facts as may be requisite to establish the genuineness and authority of the documents, as the name of the donor, and any information respecting the archives are recorded and filed by the Society.

Organization of the Hund. FEBRUARY 13, 1854.

Resolved, That any person, MEMBER OR OTHER, who shall pay to the Treasurer of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania the sum of Twenty Dollars, for that purpose, shall be, during his life, entitled to one copy of each book or other matter published by the Society subsequent to the date of payment.

Resolved, That the Treasurer open an account under the head of Publication Fund, in which shall be entered all payments for this object, and contributions thereto, as also the sums received from time to time from the sale of the Society's publications.

Resolved, That the payments and contributions to the Publication Fund be invested at convenient times in good securities, and that the interest accruing thereon be the only money from that Fund to be used in the expenses of publication.

MAY 8, 1854.

Resolved, That George W. Norris, M. D., John Jordan, Jr., and Harry Conrad be constituted Trustees of the Publication Fund of this Society, with power to invest the same on good security, and apply the income for the objects of said Fund, as stated in the Resolutions of February 13, 1854.

Office of the Treasurer, Charles M. Morris, No. 55 Walnut, above Second Street.

Morks Contemplated and in Progress.

- A History of the Expedition against Quebec in 1775, under the command of Gen. Montgomery; and of the subsequent operations of the American forces in Canada; by Aubrey H. Smith.
- History of the Kittatinny Valley, west of the Susquehanna; by George Chambers.
- History of the Military Operations around Philadelphia during the War of Independence; by Charles J. Biddle.
- Journal of John Bartram.
- Aboriginal Nomenclature of Pennsylvania.
- A collection of Treaties made with the Indians in Pennsylvania.
- Forbes and Bouquet's Expedition, to form, with Braddock's Expedition, a History of the Seven Years' War around the head of the Ohio; by Winthrop Sargent.
- A list of the Officers of the Army of the Revolution, from the papers of Col. Nicola; edited by Henry C. Baird.
- The History of Delaware, from its settlement to its separation from Pennsylvania.
- History of Roxborough and Manayunk, in the County of Philadelphia; by Horatic Gates Jones.

List of Zubscribers

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CHAMBERSBURG

IN THE

COLONY AND THE REVOLUTION.

A Sketch.

 $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{Y}$

LEWIS H. GARRARD,

MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND OF THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.

PHILADELPHIA:

J. B. LIPPINCOTT AND CO.

1856.

Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1856, by the HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

in the office of the Clerk of the District Court of the United States in and for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

Printed by T. K. & P. G. Collins.

PREFACE.

History possesses a charm and a satisfaction in its gleanings from the annals of communities and families. These bring to light the personal minutiæ that fascinatingly blend with the dry detail of events—but which to the general historian are inaccessible or unnoticed (unless arranged by others)—and elaborate points heretofore obscure, yet of weight, as showing the development of sentiments shaping the future policy of the State. Thus viewed, humbler writers are the servitors of the public interest, and their circumscribed, and it may be partial, labors assume more than a mere transient, local value.

A few months since, the writer was requested to prepare for private circulation, a memoir of a descendant of the persons to whom this sketch chiefly relates. Wishing to give, as prefatory to that memoir, a succinct account of her predecessors—who

are identified with the progress of the Colony and the contest for Independence—such facts were variously collated as have swelled the expected few pages to the dimensions of the present little volume. Had the original intention been for the Society, other characters would have been introduced, and a more comprehensive range of research taken. This explanation, it is hoped, will be sufficient reason for its exclusively personal bearing.

When near its completion, it was suggested that its presentation to the Society would be acceptable. The manuscript was then submitted to the Trustees, who recommended it as worthy the Society's sanction. From their hands, with a few emendations necessary to its change from a private to a public garb, and some definitive notes on the aboriginal names of streams, it went to press.

The principal works here consulted, are the Colonial Records and Archives of Pennsylvania; Gordon's History of Pennsylvania; Rupp's History of Cumberland and other counties; the files of the Pennsylvania Gazette from 1745 to 1769 inclusive; Colonel Nicola's MS. list of Officers of the Revolution; the Order Books of Colonel James Chambers,

from July 26th, 1778, to August 5th, 1780; and Rev. Alfred Nevin's work, entitled Churches in the Valley.

To these—to the friendly attentions of Judge George Chambers and Mr. Thomas Chambers—to the library of the Historical Society, and the kindness of his fellow-members of the Society, Mr. Samuel Hazard, Mr. John Jordan, Jr., Mr. Henry C. Baird, and, in an especial and grateful manner, to Mr. Townsend Ward, the writer is indebted for aid in dispelling the mists which have accumulated around the subjects herein treated of in the past one hundred and thirty years.

SKETCH.

CHAMBERSBURG.

THE COLONY.

ABOUT the year seventeen hundred and twenty-six, four brothers—of Scotch descent, residents of County Antrim, Ireland—allured by the bright prospects of fortune in the New World, forsook the comforts of a pleasant home and the familiar scenery of the picturesque Lough Neagh, and wended their way to the distant province of Pennsylvania.

Of these, Benjamin Chambers was the youngest, who thus, at the early age of seventeen, had chosen the arduous and attractive life of a pioneer.¹

¹ The first mention of the name of Chambers in the province is in the following transaction from the Pennsylvania Archives, vol. i. p. 39. One of the persons named was probably the father of the four brothers:—

"To my Loving Frd Thomas Holms, Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania, greeting:—

"These are to Authorize thee to Set out ye Survey'd Bounds to the Respective purchasers use, according to the last Lists of Purchasers Sent by Philip Ford, and by him Signed according to Authority. Given him by me, and for so doing this shall be thy Sufficient Warrant. Given under my hand this 22d day of 3 mo 1682.

"WM. PENN [L. S.] # PHILIP FORD.

"An Account of the Lands in Pennsylvania granted by William Penn,

With ample means at their control, and predilections in favor of no particular section, the brothers, after their arrival in Philadelphia, took sufficient leisure to gain information of the choicest portions of the back country.

Hearing much in praise of the rich soil and good timber of what was then the remote Susquehanna, they proceeded thither, and, near the mouth of Fishing Creek, put up a mill, and appropriated a tract of excellent land.

The beautiful Cumberland Valley, or, as it was termed in the poetic language of the Indian, the Kittatinny,² or "endless," hemmed in by parallel ranges of pine-clad hills, stretched from beyond the Delaware River in New Jersey, across Pennsylvania and through Virginia to North Carolina.

In this valley, west of the Susquehanna to the temporary line dividing the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland, on the margins of the streams, the rudely shaped wigwams of the Lenni Lenape were placed.

Open patches of prairie, undulating enough for certain

Esq., Chief Proprietary and Governour of that Province, to Several Purchasers within the Kingdom of England, Ireland, and Scotland, &c.

"List No. 30. BENJAMIN CHAMBERS 1,000.
"JOHN CHAMBERS .500."

- ¹ Now in Dauphin County. Namáeshanne is the Lenni Lenape term for Fish Creek.
- ² In a deed by "The Five Nations Inhabiting in the Province of New York," for lands on Susquehanna to John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, these "are called, in the language of the said Nations, the Tyannunta-sacta, or the Endless hills; and, by the Delaware Indians, the Kekkachtananin."—Pa. Archives, vol. i. p. 494.

drainage, and cleared of timber so long before the furthest reaching memory as to be traditional, invited easy culture for the corn and beans and pumpkin; the marshy spots afforded the red willow, or "kinniconick," for pleasing admixture with the soothing and precious tobacco; and the thickets hard by, no small variety of indigenous refreshing fruits. In the contiguous lordly parks, herds of timid deer and stalking bands of elk, unmolested except for the demands of hunger and limited trade, fattened on the nutritious grasses of the summer and browsed the swelling tree buds of the snowy season; while the limpid brooks yielded their treasures of beaver and otter and lusty-sided trout.

The white man, venturing in this primeval seclusion, often in his wanderings, directed by the sound of merry voices, would stumble on troops of nimble-footed girls swinging on the elastic green boughs or wading the brook, and making the old woods reëcho with the excess of unrestrained glee; while not far off, knots of bare-legged embryonic young warriors were taking first lessons in archery by stealthy, persevering, and murderous attempts on wrens and scolding catbirds.

But the strange sight of a pale face would act like magic in producing a silence as profound as the laughter a moment before was extravagant. Some would stand still in frightened indecision. Others would hurriedly seek the protecting skirts of the dark-eyed squaws, who, with the exclamatory "tiyah!" of surprise, would announce the arrival to the host within, by whom the stranger was welcomed to the most honored seat in the humble lodge. Soon the assiduous care of the women would produce a wooden bowl of savory venison or steaming "suck-a-tash," to which his regards would be paid in a manner complimentary either to the skill of the admiring cooks or his own gastronomic ability.

That finished, the post-prandial pipe of amity was whiffed with becoming gravity by him and his host; and, when the news were deliberately and monosyllabically discussed, and the shades of night had descended, the grateful pallet of dried leaves and overlying skins sustained his tired limbs in invigorating quiescence.

The equitable and Christian policy of Penn's government taught the Indian to respect the English. Disarmed of suspicion, he became confiding. In the impulse of a simple heart, and with a sincere wish to serve his visitor, he pointed out the arable lands, the best fishing and hunting grounds, and in unaffected generosity invited him to partake freely, and without price, of the many advantages of the happy valley.

All this region to the west of the Susquehanna was not then offered for sale (nor even purchased of the aborigines until 1736), but the proprietaries of the Royal Grant, with the consent of the tribes, encouraged settlement therein. This was in pursuance of a liberal system, as well as to prevent the encroachments of the Maryland colony, whose frontier posts were creeping westward, but too much in a northern direction to suit the views of the Pennsylvania grantees.

In the excursions of the Lenapes to the mills of the Chambers', their rich peltries and uniformly favorable accounts of the country whence they came, excited the desire of Benjamin and Joseph to see it. A love of exploration and adventure, with perhaps an approximate similarity in the features of this newer Canaan to the hills and glens of their boyhood's rovings, led them to various parts of it, until directed by a hunter's glowing description of the superior water-power at the junction of the Falling Spring with the Conococheague, they there rested in the assurance of having realized their expectations.

The former stream commenced in the confluence of several large springs, and held its meandering way through natural meadows, sometimes half hid by tussocks of long grass, sometimes overarched by impenetrable copses of the thorny plum, that bent to the weight of its golden drupes and the matted interlacing of purple-clustered vines. Then it collected in deep glassy pools, where the speckled trout sported in the bright sunshine, and darted away on the slightest sound of crackling brush or incautious voice to the safe refuge of a submerged log, or the intricacies of friendly tree-roots laid bare by the washing of the current; then it rushed with musical murmur in glittering miniature cascades, and over loose stones in the shallow channel, and through mossy banks garlanded with pale wild flowers, and hung with dripping aquatic plants, and again spread out in broad placid sheets, which reflected in the stillness of the glimmering noontide the wide leaves and branchless stems



¹ This was called by the Indians Guneukisschik, meaning "Indeed a long way. The word appears to refer to some cause where they became impatient."—Heckewelder.

of huge sycamores, standing on the water's edge—where scary schools of minnows rejoiced secure from the rapacious maws of the larger fish, and the summer fly lazily buzzed through its eccentric gyrations, an easy prey to the swiftwinged swallow that, with eager eye and voluble twitter, lightly skimmed the air. Finally, the brook contracted for the impetuous leap from rock to rock, and in foam, and mist, and rapid rill mingled with the waters of the Conococheague.

Benjamin at once took possession of the most valuable portion of this locality. His first improvement, which constituted the foundation of Chambersburg in 1730, was a log house; and, what was unusual at that day, the timbers composing it were hewn, and it was roofed with lapped cedar shingles, fastened with nails. This was burned during his absence to the Susquehanna for supplies by some unprincipled person, whose cupidity was aroused for the sake of the iron used in its construction.

In an advantageous position, a saw-mill, and subsequently, a grist-mill, were erected. Other buildings were arranged in convenient order. Near by, in a cedar grove, was the dwelling separated from the mill by the race, which was crossed on a rustic wooden bridge.

In the course of a few years, the fertile meadows near were inclosed, and gave good return to the seed planted therein. With care and judgment, the cattle multiplied and improved in quality; horses roamed about half wild; goats nipped the tender herbage between the rocks; and geese and ducks, diving among the water-weeds, or floating

majestically with the stream, added grace to the scene, and caused irresistible and cheering references to the calendar of feast days. In the garden, the rarest fruits and flowers of that time flourished; and the orchard (of which a few trees are now standing) was famous far and near.

The utility of the mills, and the kind disposition and religious faith of Mr. Chambers, were highly instrumental in settling the adjacent country. The people at Falling Spring were almost exclusively Scotch Irish Presbyterians. These brought with them from their native land, and rigidly maintained, the strict discipline of the Scottish creed, which calls the first day of the week the Sabbath—which demanded on that day, complete banishment from the mind of aught else than communion with holy things.

The Sabbath there was in striking contrast with the rest of the week. It was a period of delicious repose, in which surrounding nature seemed to participate. The sun beamed with genial lustre, performed its course, and gently waned beyond the hills, as if in accordance with the character of the day. The shrill note of the cock pierced the bracing morning air, and the impatient neighing of the horses shut up in the barn was more plainly heard than at other times. The lowing of the cows, anxious to be freed from the security of the night-inclosure, was modulated to a low, grateful moan as they slowly emerged, one by one, over the half-let-down bars to pull the fresh grass, yet sparkling with moistening dews. The water-fowl sailed noiselessly under the fringing alders of the mill-pond, or basked motionless in its centre; and the tinkling of the cataract, now that the

stream was diverted from the silent water-wheel, struck softly in delicate, crystal notes on the delighted ear.

In the house, the harmony was complete with the occasion In deferential respect, the men were smoothly shaved, and clad in coarse, but cleanly garb. The children presented a bright array of decent clothes, polished, ruddy faces, and recently combed hair; while the good wife, ever present and ever kind, neat and skilful, prepared the moderate morning meal, which was despatched with becoming sobriety. When the table was cleared, the cloth folded, and order restored, the old russet-bound Family Bible, which had been their constant companion over land and over sea from the home of their youth, was taken from its shelf, and laid near the man who read aloud the blessed words of inspiration. Then, on bended knee, with his little flock clustered around him, he lifted his voice in supplication to the Almighty Ruler to accept the joint peace-offering of penitent hearts.

No fire, save for the merest necessities, was kindled on the kitchen-hearth; nor was the day by questionable conventional license, scandalized by being converted into a period of feasting and sacrilegious hilarity. The Bible was read earnestly and intelligently; and the retentive memories of these settlers of Conococheague, made its history and its precepts, as illustrated by the Confession of Faith, household words. The children, reared without the adventitious aid of fine churches and bells, and other helps to Godliness in the cities, regarded the Sabbath at first with mysterious awe, until increase of age, and corresponding reason, assisted by the gradual inductions of the catechisms,

explained its propriety, and taught them to follow the good example set by their devoted fathers and mothers.

Emigrating with prejudices intensified in favor of a faith that was born amidst tyranny and nurtured in fear and persecution—and cemented to the virtual exclusion of other sects in bonds of kindred sentiment for mutual protection and spiritual comfort in the depths of an inhospitable wilderness—their tenets may have lacked in charity, and their habits been too austere, and defence of their peculiar views on subjects involving principle, too vehement for those not of their blood, or own mode of thinking. They were harsh in accent, and perhaps rough in exterior, and they were not perfect in all things, for defects are human attributes; but beneath their manly breasts beat hearts teeming with firm resolve and high moral obligation.

Mr. Chambers had been at the Falling Springs for some years. He began to feel that the solitude so charming when wooed with the never-ending novelty of camp and travel, and the absorbing interest of a new settlement, was, in the comparative quiet of steady and concentrated employment, a wearying monotony. Family legend does not transmit a detail of the preliminary changes to this important step; but whatever may have been his youthful antipathies or maturer indifference, he succumbed at last, a willing sacrifice to natural law and generous affections. In

1741, he married the daughter of Captain Robert Patterson of Lancaster, who became the mother of his son James.

In 1748, several years subsequent to the death of his first wife, he was united to Miss Jane Williams, the daughter of an Episcopal clergyman of the Virginia colony from Wales. In the certificate of this marriage, he is styled colonel. He also executed the duties of magistrate; and,

1 "A masked and indirect war had been for some time carried on between France and Great Britain; and hostilities were openly declared by the former, on the 20th, and, by the latter, on the 31st of March (1744).

* * * * * * *

"He (Gov. Thomas) commanded, by proclamation, all the able-bodied inhabitants to prepare arms, and commissioned officers, and appointed days for training.

* * * * * *

"The exertions of Franklin, on this occasion, contributed greatly to the security of the province, and to the preservation of harmony between the executive and the assembly. He published a pamphlet, entitled 'Plain Truth,' exhibiting, in strong lights, the helpless state of the province, and the necessity of union and discipline. Calling a meeting of the citizens, he laid before them a plan for a military association; twelve hundred signatures were immediately procured, and the volunteers soon amounted to ten thousand, armed at their own expense, and officered by their own choice. Franklin was chosen colonel of the Philadelphia regiment, but, declining the service, Alderman Lawrence was elected on his recommendation. By Franklin's means, also, a battery was erected below the city, from funds raised by lottery, in which Logan and many other Quakers, were adventurers. Logan, who was not scrupulous in relation to defensive war, directed whatever prizes he might draw, should be applied to the service of the battery.

"These military preparations were necessary to intimidate a foreign enemy, and to curb the hostile disposition of the Indians, which had on account of his reputation for judgment and integrity, was, in his private capacity, frequently appealed to by his neighbors as arbiter of their difficulties. And, among other

been awakened by several unpleasant rencontres with the whites."—Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, pp. 244, 245.

The counties, in emulation of the noble example set by Philadelphia, furnished their quota of troops. Among the "officers chosen by the Associators, and commissioned by the Governor for that part of Lancaster County which lies between the river of Susquehannah and the Lines of the Province," are, for "Colonel, Benjamin Chambers, Esq.; Lieutenant-Colonel, Robert Dunning, Esq.; Major, William Maxwell, Esq."—Pennsylvania Gazette, March 22, 1748.

The following extracts are quite characteristic of the public temper and taste of the times:—

"Mottoes and Devices, painted on some of the Silk Colors of the Regiment of Associators in Philadelphia and country adjacent.

A Lion erect, a naked Scymeter in one Paw, the other holding the Pennsylvania Scutcheon. Motto: Pro Patria.

Three Arms wearing different Linnen ruffled, plain and chequed; the Hands joined by grasping each the other's Wrist, denoting the Union of all Ranks. Motto: Unita Virtus Valet.

An Eagle, the Emblem of Victory, descending from the skies. Motto: A Deo Victoria.

The figure of Liberty sitting on a Cube, holding a Spear with the Cap of Freedom on its Point. Motto: Inestimabilis.

An Elephant, being the Emblem of a Warrior always on his Guard, as that Creature is said never to lie down, and hath his Arms ever in Readiness. Motto: Semper Paratus.

A Coronet, and Plume of Feathers. Motto: In God we trust.

Three of the Associators, marching with their muskets shouldered, and dressed in different Clothes, intimating the Unanimity of the different Sorts of People in the Association. Motto: Via Unita Fortior.

Representation of a Glory, in the Middle of which is wrote, Jehovan. Nissi; in English, The Lord our Banner.

duties of the head of a new colony, he performed the office of physician—gratuitously prescribing and administering medicine.

During the controversy between Lord Baltimore and the Penns, relative to the intermediate boundary of their respective provinces, which grew so bitter as to endanger the peace and prosperity of both, Mr. Chambers went to England, to assist, by his testimony, in determining the questions involved. So conclusive was his evidence in favor of the Penns, that they offered him any compensation he desired; and pressed his acceptance of a grant to a tract of land at the mouth of the Callapasscink, the right to which was lost by neglect.

While absent on this mission, he visited his native soil, and induced many to accompany him on his return—he bearing the expenses of those unable to do so themselves.

The Indians of the vicinity of Falling Spring, viewed

David, as he advanced against Goliah and flung the Stone. Motto:
In Nomine Domine.

The Duke of Cumberland as a General. Motto: Pro Deo and Georgio Rege.

Most of the above colours, together with the Officers' Half-Pikes and Spontons, and even the Halberts, Drums, &c., have been given by the Good Ladies of this City, who raised money by Subscription, among themselves, for that Purpose."—Pennsylvania Gazette, January 12, and April 16, 1748.

¹ This is a Delaware Indian word, signifying a creek abounding in horse-shoe bends.—Heckewelder. For some reason now unknown, it was called the Yallerbritches Creek, which name, grammatically rendered and modernized, it still unfortunately bears.

with wonder, the useful customs and blameless life of the settlers. Ever treated with consideration, and receiving fair equivalent for articles of trade, they kept up friendly intercourse. Even after war was declared, neither the family nor the property of Mr. Chambers was molested by them. He spoke the language of the Delawares with facility, and was on familiar terms with them. Sometimes, however, in going to the fields to inspect his cattle, the large dogs accompanying him would denote by fierce barks, their presence, and the shaking of the bushes in the distance, mark their hasty retreat. After peace was proclaimed, they told him that they never wished to kill him, but wanted to rob him of his gun and watch, and carry off a negro woman of his, to raise corn for them.

But these were the early settlers, who conciliated the Indians. Those who followed, were less careful in the observance of the Golden Rule. Not understanding, nor caring to understand, that the Indian's nature is a gentle one, and best wielded by kind treatment, unintentional, and too often purposed, offence was given. The French, who were contending with the English for the possession of the Ohio Valley, fanned their discontent into open rupture. They saw, with jealousy, houses and white faces where, before, were favorite hunting-grounds. The well-known coverts supplying the certain game, were levelled to the plough. They saw themselves every day poorer, and the

means of subsistence more difficult to obtain, while their white neighbors increased their own stores of corn and cattle to abundance. With this perverted state of feeling, it was easy to magnify cold manner into fancied slight, and a deserved rebuff into aggravated insult.

The settlements were sparsely scattered through the Kittatinny country. At first, the danger did not appear serious, and the people remained on their farms, though with some misgivings of entire safety. Soon abductions became frequent, and, occasionally a murder was committed, and houses and grain-stacks fired. Yet these were regarded rather as tokens of personal malice than national hostility, and, as such, insufficient cause for war.

About the year 1753, the French had succeeded in instilling in the minds of the various tribes, a hatred which nothing but blood would satisfy. The amicable feeling toward the English, that for more than thirty years had pervaded them, was now totally gone. They were laying waste portions of Virginia; and the frontier of Cumberland County¹ offered the next nearest field. Consternation was depicted on every face. Those who had been treated by the aborigines with frankness, and who expected to unmolestedly pursue their peaceful avocations, saw the uselessness of further risk. Friends and foes shared alike the savage vindictiveness.

¹ In 1750 Lancaster County was divided, and the new part took the name of Cumberland, which latter was the sixth in order of erection. Franklin County was the thirteenth in order, and was established in 1784, out of the southwestern part of Cumberland.

Colonel Washington marched with troops across the mountains against the advancing allied French and Indians, but was compelled to capitulate to superior force at Fort Necessity on the 3d July, 1754. Affairs in the valley were thrown into deplorable confusion; and petitions for relief were sent to the Provincial government.

"To the Honourable James Hamilton, Esq., Lieutenant-Governour and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware.

"The address of the subscribers, Inhabitants of the County of Cumberland, humbly sheweth:

"That we are now in the most imminent danger by a powerful army of cruel, merciless, and inhuman enemies, by whom our lives, liberties, and estates, and all that tends to promote our welfare, are in the utmost danger of dreadful destruction, and this lamentable truth is most evident from the late defeat of the Virginia forces; and now, as we are under your Honour's protection, we would beg your immediate notice—we living upon the frontiers of the Province, and our enemies so close upon us—nothing doubting but that these considerations will affect your Honour, and, as you have our welfare at heart, that you defer nothing that may tend to hasten our relief," &c.1

Signed by Benjamin Chambers, and seventy-four others "Cumberland, July 15, 1754."

¹ Col. Rec., vol. vi. p. 130.



Throughout the year, massacres were frequent. Many farms were deserted outright. The people collected in numbers for greater safety, and tended their fields, while others watched, guns in hand, to give the alarm on the approach of danger.

Meanwhile, they were sustained in the hour of peril by the hope that the forces then being conducted to repel the enemy would be successful. The prayers of the distressed inhabitants were daily offered in their behalf. Their property, their sustenance, and their lives, depended on the fate of the expedition.

They were doomed to bitter disappointment. The news of Braddock's defeat, on the 9th July, 1755, travelled with the usual celerity of evil tidings. This overwhelming disaster completed the dismay that before had been partial only. The settlements which were causing the fertile valleys reaching toward the Ohio to smile with luxuriant crops, and the sturdy forest to bend to the blows of the civilizing axe, were abandoned in utter despair. The Indians of the further slope of the Alleghanies, ever ready for outrage, and instigated, and even led by the French, who, in the first flush of victory, miscalculated their ultimate strength, spared neither the lives nor the substance of the hated English. The people fled with what effects they could carry, to the safety afforded at Shippensburg and Carlisle. At the former town, a fort was in process of completion. Such was the urgency to put it in a defensible condition that the ring of hammers, and the labors of the men, intruded on the sacredness of the Sabbath. The town was crowded with refugees. So fierce was this war that in 1763, eight years

later, there were in Shippensburg, nearly fourteen hundred of these wretched, houseless creatures occupying cellars, sheds, barns, and other outhouses; for the dwellings proper were filled to overflowing.

Another petition went from Cumberland County; and letters were written, showing the unprotected state of the frontier:—

"To the Honourable Robert Hunter Morris, Esq., Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Province of Pennsylvania.

"The Humble Petition of A Number of the Inhabitants of Cumberland County, Heartily joined as a Company, Under the Care and Command of Joseph Armstrong, Esq'r, Sheweth:

"That Your Petitioners are at present in a most Dangerous Situation, as we live upon the frontier, Exposed to the Inhuman Cruelty of Barbarous Savages, and Nothing to Impede them or Defend us but the Sovereign Benignity of Almighty God, for we are in a Defenceless Condition having neither Arms nor Amunition, and in this Lamentable Case, Our Only Door of Hope (Next to the Divine Goodness) is in Your Honour's Compassion, and the more for that you have given the Utmost assurance to us of Your Care of this Province, and, in Particular, by the Late Provisions made for our Brethren in Potter's Township, who are in Equal Jeopardy with us.

"May it therefore Pleas Your Honour to Consider Our Case, and grant us Some relief, by Ordering to us such A number of Guns and Quantity of Amunition, and Upon

Such terms as Your Honour shall appoint, and Your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, shall Ever Pray.

"August 7, 1755."

"Falling Spring, Sabbath Morning, Nov. 2, 1755.

"To the inhabitants of the lower part of the County of Cumberland—

"Gentlemen: If you intend to go to the assistance of your neighbors, you need wait no longer for the certainty of the news. The Great Cove² is destroyed. James Campbell left his company last night, and went to the fort at Mr. Steel's meeting-house,³ and there saw some of the inhabitants of the Great Cove, who gave this account; that as they came over the Hill, they saw their houses in flames. The messenger says that there are but one hundred, and that they are divided into two parts, the one part to go against the Cove, and the other against the Conolloways; and there are two French among them. They are Delawares and Shawnese. The part that came against the Cove are under the command of Shingas, the Delaware king. The people



¹ Pa. Archives, vol. ii. p. 385.

² The Great and Little Coves are valleys inclosed by mountain-spurs in the western part of Cumberland, (now Franklin) County. The first is about twenty-five, the latter about seventeen, miles from Chambersburg.

³ One of the first forts in the Conococheague settlement was built in 1755. This stood south of Fort Loudoun about five miles, and east of Mercersburg three miles, where was situated the Presbyterian White Church. It was called "Mr. Steel's Meeting-House" for the pastor who took charge in 1754. The church, surrounded by a rude, but strong, stockade, thus became a bulwark for material, as well as spiritual, defence.

of the Cove that came off saw several men lying dead; they heard the murder shout, and the firing of guns, and saw the Indians going into their houses before they left sight of the Cove. I have sent express to Marsh Creek at the same time I send this, so I expect there will be a good company there this day; and, as there are but one hundred of the enemy, I think it is in our power, if God permit, to put them to flight if you turn out well from your parts. I understand that the West settlement is designed to go if they can get any assistance to repel them. All in haste from

Your humble servant,
BENJAMIN CHAMBERS"

Extract of a letter from Col. Jno. Armstrong to Governor Morris:—

Carlisle, November 2, 1755.

"The two Delawares who brought the hatchet further said; That about twenty-one days ago a large number of Indians, and about one hundred French, supposed to make about fifteen hundred men, set out from Fort Du Quesne in order to destroy as many of the inhabitants eastward of the Alleghany hills as they could, and that eight days before the main body left the fort, scouting parties were sent out before them.

* * * We should be prepared to receive them every hour, for that they were certainly nigh us.

"At four o'clock this afternoon, by express from Conococheague, we are informed that yesterday about 100 Indians were seen in the Great Cove, among whom was

Shingas, the Delaware king; that immediately after the discovery, as many as had notice fled, and, looking back from an high hill, they beheld their houses on fire, heard several guns fired, and the last shrieks of their dying neighbors. Mr. Hamilton was here, with sixty men from York County, when the express came, and is to march early to-morrow to the upper part of the county. We have sent out expresses everywhere, and intend to collect the forces of this lower part, expecting the enemy every moment at Shearman's Valley, if not nearer hand. I'm of opinion that no other means than a chain of block-houses along or near the south side of the Kittatinny mountains, from the Susquehanna to the Temporary Line, can secure the lives and properties even of the old inhabitants of this county; the new settlements being all fled except Shearman's Valley, whom (if God do not preserve) we fear will suffer very soon.

I am your Honor's
disconsolate, humble servant,
John Armstrong."

Early in 1756, "A plan for the defence of Cumberland County" was adopted, as suggested by Col. John Armstrong in his letter just quoted. Governor Morris wrote to Col. Washington:—

" FEB. 2, 1756.

"SIR: I am favored with yours of the 1st (?) instant, which I did not receive till my return on Wednesday last

¹ Pa. Archives, vol. ii. p. 452.



from the frontiers, where I have been employed for a month past in forming a line of forts and block-houses from Delaware, along the Kittatinny hills, as far as the new road that leads to the Alleghany hills, and which I am in hopes ten days will complete. On the west of Susquehanna, I have placed one at the Sugar Cabins upon the new road, which I have named Fort Lyttleton, another at Aughwick, called Fort Shirley,² a third upon the Juniata, where the Kishequokilis³ falls into it, called Fort Granville, and a fourth between that and the Susquehanna. called Pomfret Castle.4 In these, I have placed garrisons of seventy-five men each, with orders to range the woods each way from their respective forts, to give notice of the approach of any enemy, and to use their utmost endeavors to intercept and destroy any parties of French and Indians they may discover."

These forts were productive of good, but were limited in their range of benefit, and left many places at the mercy of the foe. In various parts of the valley, private forts were

- ¹ The location of Fort Lyttleton is sixteen miles from Loudoun, or about thirty miles in a western direction from Chambersburg.
 - ² Fort Shirley was at the present site of the town of Shirleysburg.
- 3 "Gischochgokwalis—the snakes have all got into their dens. From the words gischi, already; achgook, snakes; walicu, in dens."—Heckewelder.
- ⁴ Pomfret Castle was on the river *Matchitongo*, about twelve miles from the Susquehanna.

For these forts, see Gov. Morris's letters, Pa. Arch., vol. ii., pp. 556, 564, &c.

built and resorted to by those who could not reach the provincial posts. The Great and Little Coves, and the Conolloways to the west of Falling Spring, were reduced to ashes; and the inhabitants, leaving fifty prisoners in the hands of the savages, fled, some to York County, and others to Maryland. The country, for thirty miles, was laid waste; cattle were killed or driven off, and the corn rotted on the ground, for no one was left to gather it.

THE petition from Falling Spring was unanswered. The same piteous appeal went up from all parts of the border. Money was difficult to raise by taxing a people struggling for precarious existence; and the government was therefore unable to comply with the urgent demands on its impoverished treasury. It could only recommend refuge in its few posts, or abandonment of the country.

Mr. Chambers was remotely situated, and beyond the immediate protection of any fort. The danger became daily more imminent. His mills, his farm, and the improvements of his neighbors, were of too much value, and had been obtained at too great a cost of labor and backwoods' privation, to leave to the despoilers.

He saw the madness of further dependence on a helpless government. The time had come for decisive resistance or ignominious flight. But one course presented itself to his entire commendation. His enterprise and industry had originated the settlement, and placed him pecuniarily at its

head; and he proved himself equal to the emergency, by resolving to remain and defend it.

He built a large stone house, two stories in height, and roofed it with lead, to prevent its being fired by arrows carrying combustible matter. The walls were of great thickness, and proof against the blows of the ponderous log battering-ram. The windows were narrow, and arranged to serve as loop-holes for musketry. One corner of the fort projected over the brook to provide an unfailing supply of water in the event of a long siege—and a broad and deep moat surrounding, fed by the Falling Spring, gave increased immunity. He then inclosed this and the mills with a high stockade of upright, wooden puncheons, firmly imbedded in the ground, which formed of itself a wall of more than ordinary protection. Then, with two cannons of four pound calibre, and small arms, for offensive operations, he deemed himself quite secure. The reverberation of the report of these cannon through the lonely hills, struck terror in the hearts of the unsuccessful scalp-loving assailants of this stronghold, and the exaggerated stories of their extraordinary power, soon taught them to make no further attempts.

The vicinity of the fort, however, was closely beset; for the timorous excursions of those who had sought shelter within its hospitable walls, to the adjacent fields, would often result in a loss of the number by the fatal tomahawk, or by being carried away prisoners, subjected to all the horrors of barbarian warfare.

The alarm became general. In York County, much

nearer the Delaware river than the Conococheague part of Cumberland County, the people were ill at ease, as the following paper, read in Colonial Council, August 28, 1756, will show:—

To Governor Morris-

"The Petition of the Inhabitants of the Town and County of York, most humbly sheweth:—

"That your Petitioners are sensible that your Honour has left no measures (in your power) untried, for the protection of our lives and liberties from the outrages of a barbarous and savage enemy.

"That your petitioners hoped their sufferings were at an end when a chain of forts were erected along the frontier for their defence.

"That, notwithstanding this, skirmishes are made, murders and captivities daily committed upon the poor remaining inhabitants, who hold their possessions in the most eminent danger, in hopes of seeing more happy days.

"That all our prospects of safety and protection are now vanished, by finding one of our best forts upon the frontier burnt and destroyed, and the men who bravely defended it, carried into barbarous captivity, (and the rest of the forts liable to the same fate, which may unhappily be the case before this can reach your Honour's hands.)

"That, as the County of Cumberland is mostly evacuated, and part of this become the frontier, the enemy may easily enter and take possession of provisions sufficient to supply many thousand men, and be thereby enabled to carry their hostilities even to the metropolis. * * *

"Your petitioners therefore most humbly pray that * * your Honour will recommend our complicated distresses to the Right Honourable the Earl of Loudoun, who, upon knowing our truly deplorable condition, may be graciously pleased to take some measures to ease our calamities; perhaps to command the recruits now raised in the province, for the Royal American regiment to be forthwith sent to our relief, whilst the provincials now in pay, may go against the enemy to avenge our bleeding cause."

The Rev. John Steel, captain of a company in the pay of the province, stationed twelve miles from Falling Spring, writes, Sept. 6, 1756, to the governor, of the most miserable condition of the upper part of Cumberland County. A letter from Shippensburg, of the same month, sets forth the grievances of that town, and offers to finish a fort if allowed arms and ammunition to defend it. Official statements of that time, also represent that where, a year before, were three thousand men fit to bear arms, now, exclusive of the colonial forces, not one hundred remained.

It seems that these private forts were considered unsafe, and of no importance, by the authorities. This may have been owing to the capture and destruction of several of them, with the inmates. One provincial fort (Granville) was also overpowered.

Commissary James Young, on a tour of duty some months after the establishment of Chambers' fort, drew conclusions in reference to its strength that facts did not seem to warrant.

4

In a letter to Gov. Denny, he says-

"HARRIS' FERRY, Oct. 17th, 1756.

* * In our journey to Fort Littleton, we stopped at Mr. Chambers' mill, ten miles beyond Shippensburg, towards McDowell's,¹ where he has a good private fort, and on an exceeding good situation, to be made very defenceable, but what I think of great consequence to the Government is, that in said fort are two four-pound cannon mounted, and nobody but a few country people to defend it. If the enemy should take that fort, they would naturally bring those cannon to bear against Shippensburg and Carlisle. I therefore would presume to recommend it to your Honour, either to have the cannon taken from thence, or a proper garrison stationed there."

The Governor being either unable or indisposed to station troops there, Mr. Chambers was applied to by the commanding officer of the department, for the delivery of the guns.

Receiving no protection, and relying on himself for success, he had encountered the multifarious dangers incident to his settlement; and when his prudence suggested, and his private funds paid for, the means of defence which the government failed to supply, official interference was not

¹ This was a private fort, erected early in 1756, and before the erection of Fort Loudoun. Being near the passes through the western mountains, it was sometimes occupied by companies of rangers and other provincial forces. It was about two miles south of Loudoun, and where the village of Bridgeport is now situated.

² Pa. Archives, vol. iii. p. 12.

only ill-timed, but an impugnment of his bravery and strength. The ire of the independent spirits of Conococheague was aroused at this proposal to strip them of their sole reliance while staying in possession of their homes; and they united in sustaining Mr. Chambers in his determination to resist the attempt to deprive him of them. He indignantly refused to obey an order so uncalled for, so insulting, and replied, that if he was able to build a fort and to arm it, he well knew how to defend it, and that, by superior force alone should the cannon be removed.

He was reported to the Governor. A true statement of the case could hardly have been made. If otherwise, personal enmity must have entered the matter. Mr. Chambers was one of the commissioners to locate the county-seat of Cumberland. Carlisle, Shippensburg, and a place ten miles from Falling Spring, were looked at, and the former was chosen. This made him obnoxious to those who did not succeed, for he was strenuous in favor of Carlisle; and it is possible that the governor's mind was biassed by partial representations of those opposed to Chambers.

Col. John Armstrong, in a letter to Gov. Denny, of the date of November 30, 1756, says—

"I have written to Mr. Chambers, concerning the guns at his Fort, according to order, but he thinks, by going to Philadelphia, he may prevail with y' Hon' to let them stay where they are, and is to set out for that purpose in a few days."

¹ Pa. Archives, vol. iii. p. 77.

Be the cause what it may, the offence was too flagrant an act of insubordination to pass unnoticed; and, despite the propriety of retaining the guns, the Governor proceeded to administer a lesson of obedience in the following summons:—

Pennsylvania, ss.

The Honourable William Denny, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor & Commander in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware. To the Sheriff of Cumberland County Greeting. Whereas it having been represented to me that two Great Guns or Cannon were in the Custody and Possession of a Certain Benjamin Chambers at his Dwelling House on the Western Frontier of this Province in the said County of Cumberland, Where they did lie exposed to his Majesty's Enemies who by taking Possession of them might thereby be the better enabled to annoy and Distress his said Majesty's Subjects in this Province, and to lay Siege to and reduce his Majesty's Forts. Therein moved by my Duty to my Sovereign, and a regard & concern for the safety of the People of this Province under my Command, care and Protection. I issued my Order in writing bearing date on or about the fourth day of February last past, directed to Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong, thereby Commanding him to cause the said two Cannon to be removed from the dwelling House of the said Benjamin Chambers to Shippensburg or some other Fort under his Command as a place of safety, where they might be secure from falling into the hands of the Enemy. And Whereas

it has been proved to my satisfaction that the said John Armstrong did send a party of his Majesty's Forces under the Command of Thomas Smallman, to remove the said Cannon accordingly, and that the said Benjamin Chambers with an intent to disturb the King's peace himself did assemble with divers other Persons unknown armed with Swords, Guns, and other Warlike weapons, and Riotously, Traitorously and Seditiously without any Lawful authority did oppose the March of the said Thomas Smallman and the other Forces under his Command, would not suffer them to execute my said order, and did not only refuse to deliver up the said Cannon, but did threaten to kill the said Thomas or any of the said Forces who should offer to take Possession of the said Cannon, and I have reason to believe that the said Benjamin Chambers is disaffected to his Majesty and his Government. You are therefore hereby strictly charged and commanded to take the Body of the said Benjamin Chambers, and bring him under a strong Guard before me the said William Denny, Esquire, at the City of Philadelphia, to answer the Premises and be dealt with according to Law, and all Officers Civil and Military. and others his Majesty's Subjects in this Province are hereby ordered and charged to be aiding and assisting to you therein. Hereof fail not, as you will answer the Contrary at your Peril, and for your so doing this Shall be your Warrant, Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms at Philadelphia the fifth day of April, & Thirtieth Year of his Majesty's Reign.

WILLIAM DENNY."1

¹ Pa. Archives, vol. iii. p. 105.



Col. Armstrong was deputed to convey the order into effect. He found the settlers still firm in the resolve to keep the guns. Irritated at seeing his authority disregarded, and his force inadequate to the seizure of them, he wrote as follows:—

"CARLISLE, 30th June, 1757.

* I'm sorry Mr. Allen should be so uneasy on the score of a person so troublesome and so perverse as Chambers is known to be; the recognizance was not taken for his appearance before any person but the governor, who issued the writ; it's thought, Chambers now designs a law-suit, and he has said the action will be brought against me, where I think it cannot lie.

If it is found, that he designs trouble (as he has the brass and malice of the Devil) I think the Governor should write to Col. Stanwix; in the mean time, I will open the matter to the colonel, who may think it necessary to seize the guns himself. I am conscious he was, on that occasion, treated not only with justice, but also with lenity. * *

* * The old magistrates had no other reason for resigning than lest they should be left out; though some of them I have lately heard say, it was owing to the Governor's treatment of Ben. Chambers in regard of his guns; but this is finesse."

* * * * *

How the dispute ended is not known; but the best refutation of Commissary Young's fears, and evidence of the completeness of the defensive plans are, that Mr. Cham-

¹ Pa. Archives, vol. iii. p. 192.

bers remained in his fort during the eight years' war that depopulated the country around. That the "two Great Guns" were not removed, is apparent from the circumstance of one of them being used at Chambersburg seventy-three years after it had assisted in repelling the foes of England, in the celebration of the anniversary of Independence Day.

THE OLD CHURCHYARD.

In 1764, the town of Chambersburg was regularly surveyed. At one end of it, lay secluded a romantic prominence of a few acres in extent. This was conveyed, in 1768, through deed of gift, by Benjamin Chambers and wife, to the religious society "then and thereafter adhering to the Westminster profession of faith, and the mode of government therein contained," for the purposes of a house of worship, session and school-houses, and cemetery. The congregation of Falling Spring was organized in 1738, and incorporated by act of Assembly, in 1787.

A hundred feet or more from the road that skirts the front of this ground, on the summit of the gradual rise, a small log church was built.

"Here were they gathered every good Lord's day,

From town, from hamlet, and from country wide,
In pleasant groups, but meek and staid alway,
They showed not often levity nor pride.

* * * * * * * * *

Blest sight it was to mark that Godly flock,
At intermission, grouped throughout this wood.
Each log, each bench, each family upping-block,
Some granddame held amidst her gathered brood.
Here cakes were shared, and fruit, and counsel good;
Devoutly spoken, 'twas of crops and rain;
Hard by the church the broad-brimmed elders stood,
While o'er that slope did flow a constant train
Of bevies, springward bound, or coming back again."

When the audience was beyond the capacity of the church, service was held, in pleasant weather, at the mill, in which, and in the cool shade of the surrounding trees, benches were ranged. In 1767, to accommodate the increased number of hearers, it was replaced by a large, single-storied house, framed by joining three lengths of logs end to end, and was of considerable width. This stood until 1803, when the present substantial stone edifice was erected.

¹ It is surprising to note the want, in those days, of the commonest articles of utility. An extract from the minutes of this congregation will give a curious and interesting illustration.

"2nd Meeting, Wednesday, 8th of February, 1786.

"Mr. Martin proposed to make a book for the Purpose of opening a New account with the Subscribers in the Congregation upon which it was ordered that Mr. James Moor Purchase three quires of Paper of John Colhoon and deliver the same to Mr. Martin for this Purpose and Pay the same out of Monies of the Congregation now remaining in his Possession.

"Mr. Edward Crawford is appointed to purchase three quires of Paper and to make the same into a Book and transcribe the act of Incorporation into the beginning of the same to be delivered to the Secretary at our next meeting for the use of the Trustees.

"3RD MEETING, MARCH 21st, 1786.

"The Trustees met according to their adjournment. Present the Rev. James Lang, Col. Benjamin Chambers, James Moor, Matthew Wilson, Patrick Varin and Josiah Crawford. Began with Prayer

"Mr. James Moor found on application to John Colhoon for Paper to make the Book as directed at our last meeting, that there was none that would suit. So the Book is not yet provided. Mr. Moor is ordered to provide the Paper for this Purpose as soon as possible.

"Mr. Edward Crawford Junr. not being present, there is no account

5



From the rear of the church, the ground falls rapidly to a grass-grown ravine, once the bed of the brook, but diverted long ago into its present course by a beaver-dam. Across this, an embankment has been made for convenient transit to the main portion of the cemetery, which is broad and level, and terminates abruptly in a low bluff, thickly set with bushes. By its base the dark-brown waters of the Conococheague flow gently in ripple and mirroring sheet, and under which, in the alternating disclosure and obscurity of the drifting clouds, can be seen ridges of rich deposite and gray sand at the bottom. Huge slaty masses shelve from the opposite shore far into the stream; and against them the white-crested waves exhaust their puny strength in rapid succession, and in well-defined line of evanescing bubbles and yeasty foam float slowly out of view.

The plateau is studded with clumps of mournful cedars, whose sombre green hue and prim outline are thrown into agreeable contrast by the bright walnut-leaves in the sere and yellow of annual mutation, and more delicate and fringe-like in juxtaposition with the gnarled arms and early frost-tinted foliage of the spreading oak. Out over the creek the eye ranges on multiplied hill and woody

whether he hath fulfilled his appointment respecting the Book for the use of the Board."

Not long after this, Dr. Colhoon started at Chambersburg the first paper mill in the valley, if not in the western country. From this point, paper was supplied as late as 1817 by means of pack horses, and then by wagons, to Pittsburg and adjacent districts. An early issue of a Pittsburg journal contains an apology for its delay because the paper from Chambersburg had not arrived in its usual time.

dale until they confusedly blend in the distant Kittatinny Mountain.

In other directions, the density of the immediate forest precludes the noise and sight of busy outer cares, and impresses the wanderer within its limits with the gloom of desolation. It is a spot where the world, so lately radiant with the hopes and fears and sweet experiences that animate us to continued exertion, relapses into the merest dream of reality—where the futility of earthly aspirations, compared with the glowing prize of immortality, overwhelms and saddens; and retrospective musings, admit no consolatory anticipations for the future.

Appropriately situated in the depths of this solitude, in a low stone inclosure, whose antiquated architecture bespeaks the work of a past generation, is the gathering-place in death of the Chambers family. There rests a pioneer of 1730; by his side lie two of his sons—a brave colonel and a gallant captain of the Revolution; near them now, as in life, a true Christian wife and mother, and others, whom but to name invoke our tearful homage; while, close by, a plain white shaft, spotless and of recent erection, marks the entombment of the crushed hopes and the heart-wrung solicitude that were centered in an only son.

Through the dreary black winter night the old trees creak and bend to the furious blast in such strange notes, that we seem almost to hear again the wild pibroch wail that in direful days of yore collected the Scottish clans to battle undismayed for the right. At other times, the balmy autumnal evening breeze sighs through the rustling

leaves a requiem gushing full of melody and soothing sweetness, until we feel that though alone in the abode of the dead, we can again commune with those we most loved. Amid the swaying of the pensile boughs of this sacred wood we silently ponder over the cold marble that tells in few brief lines the beginning and the ending of some of those who toiled and wearied not in the good fight of faith and liberty in the Cumberland valley—who for opinion's sake risked their lives and their fortunes for a home of free thought in this distant land of promise.

It is not difficult to imagine the emotions with which the provident giver of this holy ground foresaw the common benefit of his appropriation, nor fail to appreciate the gentle pathos of the sentiment that exacted in return the yearly presentation in the month of June of a single rose. This affecting and beautiful ceremony, it need hardly be added, was piously observed for a long period.

Of this Falling Spring congregation, Benjamin Chambers was an active and an humble member, for he lived in the fear and the love of the Redeemer. His death, in 1788, was calm and joyous; and in the cemetery he so tenderly regarded, sleep the remains of the first white settler of that vicinity.

THE REVOLUTION.

PATRIOTISM was ever a leading trait among the people of the Kittatinny Valley. As borderers, and as provincial troops throughout the old French war and the subsequent harassing Indian war, and as independent maintainers of their isolated positions, they were conspicuous in bearing the severest portion of the defence of the frontier.

It is a prevalent idea, and much dwelt upon, that those who pronounced for liberty in 1775 were its authors. This perhaps is right; yet they but gave expression to the awakened instincts of an intelligent people. It is urged, and with much plausibility, that no evidence exists of such previously-entertained aims. Were this even so, it would prove but little; for no one then cared to rashly incur the penalties of treason by publishing his opposition to the supreme government.

That this dream of independence floated through the popular mind long ere its national existence is clearly apparent. Prior to the Revolution are to be found allusions—in the English interest, and, of course, adverse to the feasibility of independence—showing that the idea at least was cherished. This was the legitimate result of living at great distance from a chief government, which the colonists knew only as the source of capricious and exacting officials, by whom the best energies of a country capable

of self-maintenance, and withal increasing in vigor, were taxed without receiving the benefit therefrom.

Conclusive on this head is the negative evidence, in 1755, of Lewis Evans, of Philadelphia (and his is probably the first record of alarming dissatisfaction):—"It would be the height of madness for them to propose an Independency." Twenty brief years saw the culmination of that madness, and but little imagination is requisite to fancy the turbulent Pennsylvanians chafing the estimable geographer into his emphatic argument. Not less so is James Maury, who wrote in 1756: "We have been informed that such accounts of our temper and disposition in this colony (Virginia) have been transmitted to England by a certain person that the Ministry suppose we want nothing but ability and opportunity to attempt shaking off allegiance."²

Thus it is manifest that the sentiment of liberty was not sprung as a sudden or individual creation on the public gaze. It was latent and deep-seated, and had vigorous root in the affections of the people. More quick to move than those who become the exponents of the popular will, the people are always in advance. It is only when the masses are ripe for action that the feeling finds vent in the prominent few. Without this solid basis, attempt at leadership becomes mere personal advancement, and the hero or patriot degenerates to the paltry factionist or traitor.

Analysis of a general map of the Colonies, p. 32.

² Memoirs of a Huguenot Family, p. 405.

Had not the simultaneous passage of resolutions throughout the colonies been concerted, and, in fact proposed, by the Committees of Correspondence, it is not too much to believe that the hereditary sense of right, which had so long animated this people, and which was kept in abeyance by the wisdom that saw defeat in premature action, signal success in unity, would have led to the immediate defiant avowal of independence.¹

- ¹ The subjoined resolutions are similar to those of various meetings held through the colonies; and, as designed by the Committees of Correspondence, they emboldened the congress that met in Philadelphia the September following to adopt the decisive measures put forth by them.
- "At a respectable meeting of the freeholders and freemen from several townships of the Cumberland County in the province of Pennsylvania, held at Carlisle in the said county, on Tuesday the 12th day of July, 1774; John Montgomery, Esq., in the chair.
- 1. Resolved, That the late act of the parliament of Great Britain, by which the port of Boston is shut up, is oppressive to that town, and subversive of the rights and liberties of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; that the principle upon which that act is founded is not more subversive of the rights and liberties of that colony than it is of all other British colonies in North America; and, therefore, the inhabitants of Boston are suffering in the common cause of all these colonies.
- 2. That every vigorous and prudent measure ought speedily and unanimously to be adopted by these colonies for obtaining redress of the grievances under which the inhabitants of Boston are now laboring; and security from grievance of the same or of a still more severe nature, under which they and the other inhabitants of the colonies may, by a further operation of the same principle, hereafter labor.
- 3. That a Congress of Deputies from all the colonies will be one proper method for obtaining these purposes.
- 4. That the same purposes will, in the opinion of this meeting, be promoted by an agreement of all the colonies not to import any mer-

Pennsylvania was a fitting school for the coming glorious struggle. Side by side, for a series of years against the common enemy, the comparative merits of English and American arms were tested; but not until the bitter lesson on the fatal field of Monongahela was the invidious distinction broadly and irremediably drawn. In this long-continued border warfare, irregular and peculiar by reason of the habits and character of the aborigines, and perfected by arduous experience, was acquired a degree of

chandize from nor export any merchandize to Great Britain, Ireland, or the British West Indies, nor to use any such merchandize so imported, nor tea imported from any place whatever till these purposes shall be obtained; but that the inhabitants of this county will join any restriction of that agreement which the General Congress may think it necessary for the colonies to confine themselves to.

- 5. That the inhabitants of this county will contribute to the relief of their suffering brethren in Boston at any time when they shall receive intimation that such relief will be most seasonable.
- 6. That a committee be immediately appointed for this county, to correspond with the committee of this province, or of the other provinces, upon the great objects of the public attention; and to co-operate in every measure conducing to the general welfare of British America.
- 7. That the committee consist of the following persons, viz: James Wilson, John Armstrong, John Montgomery, William Irvine, Robert Callender, William Thompson, John Colhoon, Jonathan Hoge, Robert Magaw, Ephraim Blane John Allison John Harris, and Robert Miller, or any five of them.
- 8. That James Wilson, Robert Magaw, and William Irvine be the Deputies appointed to meet the Deputies from other counties of this province at Philadelphia, on Friday next, in order to concert measures preparatory to the General Congress."* John Montgomery, Chairman.

^{*} Rupp, p. 403, et seq.

native self-reliance which soon taught the Americans the superiority of their tactics over those of the most approved European generalship, and at the same time showed them what to expect in the event of separation.

At the commencement of the Revolution, Mr. Chambers was unfit, by infirmity of years, for the fatigues and exposure of a campaign so distant as the heights of Boston. But the spirit which in his progenitors resisted with zealous bravery, arbitrary power in Ireland and Scotland had, by the process of transplanting to the savage wilds of America, lost none of its devotion to just principles of government.

On the receipt of the news of the battle of Lexington, commendatory meetings were held, and the people banded together in opposition to unmerited aggression.¹

- ¹ A gentleman writing from Carlisle, May 6, 1775, says-
- "Yesterday the County Committee met from nineteen townships on the short notice they had. About three thousand men have already associated. The arms returned amount to about fifteen hundred. The committee have voted five hundred effective men, besides commissioned officers, to be immediately drafted, taken into pay, armed and disciplined, to march on the first emergency; to be paid and supported as long as necessary by a tax on all estates, real and personal, in the county; the returns to be taken by the township committees; and the tax laid by the commissioners and assessors; the pay of the officers and men as usual in times past.

"This morning we met again at eight o'clock; among other subjects $\mathbf{6}$



Mr. Chambers' eldest son, James, was an ardent supporter of the rebel cause. In June, 1775, he marched as captain of a company of infantry, accompanied by his brothers, William and Benjamin, as cadets, to the siege of Boston.

The ensuing extracts from James Chambers' private correspondence (mostly to his wife) present stirring pictures of some of the important events of the period to which they relate. They will be welcomed by the patriot reader to the reminiscences of the Revolution, and by the

of inquiry this day, the mode of drafting, or taking into pay, arming and victualling immediately the men, and the choice of field and other officers, will, among other matters, be the subject of deliberation. The strength or spirit of this county perhaps may appear small if judged by the number of men proposed; but when it is considered that we are ready to raise fifteen hundred or two thousand, should we have support from the Province, and that independent, and in uncertain expectation of support, we have voluntarily drawn upon this county a debt of about £27,000 per annum, I hope we shall not appear contemptible. We make great improvements in military discipline. It is yet uncertain who may go."—Am. Archives, ii. 516.

William and Benjamin Chambers were respectively twenty-two and twenty years of age at this time. They were advanced to the rank of captain soon after they joined the army. They were at the battles of Long Island, Brandywine, and Germantown, and encountered the severities of the campaign of 1776 and 1777 in the Jerseys. They, however, returned home before the close of the war to the attention of their aged parents and their property, which latter had suffered greatly from neglect. Notwithstanding their compulsory absence from the battle-fields of the nation, they frequently assisted in the pursuit of Indians, whose incursions on the settlements of Bedford and Huntingdon Counties created much alarm.

posterity of the participators in the momentous struggle, as most worthy of respectful registry:—

"CAMBRIDGE, AUGUST 13, 1775.

"MY DEAR KITTY: We arrived in camp on the 7th ult., about 12 o'clock. We were not here above an hour until we went to view the lines where the English camp is all in plain sight. We crossed the lines, and went beyond the outposts to a small hill, within musket-shot of a manof-war and a floating battery, and not further from the works at the foot of Bunker Hill, where we could see them very plainly. Whilst I was standing there, some of our riflemen slipped down ----- Hill, about a gunshot to the left of us, and began firing. The Regulars returned it without hurting our men. We thought we saw one of the red coats fall. Since the riflemen came here, by the latest accounts from Boston, there have been forty-two killed, and thirty-eight prisoners taken at the Lighthouse, twelve of the latter Tories. Amongst the killed are four captains, one of them the son of a Lord, and worth £40,000 a year, whose name I cannot recollect. The riflemen go where they please, and keep the Regulars in continual hot water.

They are every day firing cannon at our people, but have not yet killed a man. We expect six wagons loaded with powder here in two or three days; and when they arrive, our twenty-four pounders will begin to play on their ships and the lines on Bunker Hill. It is difficult for our men to get within shot of them, as they have floating batteries that flank the end of Winter Hill, and men-of-

war on the other side, though our boys think they killed several of them about an hour ago. I saw a small cannonading between two of the enemy's boats and one of our batteries to the north of Boston. We can see all the town distinctly from our fort on Prospect Hill, and it is a very pretty place.

* * Two deserters came to us last night."

"CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, Aug. 29, 1775.

"MY DEAR KITTY:

* * * * * * * *

* * "On the evening of the 26th inst., Saturday, I was ordered to draw fifty men out of each of the Cumberland companies, and be ready to march at sunset. Accordingly I did so, and marched without beat of drum to Prospect Hill, and thence proceeded with the riflemen stationed there—in all about four hundred;—to Ploughed Hill and then down the hill within three or four hundred yards of the enemy's strongest works, to cover a party of about two thousand musketmen, who were at the same time to entrench on Ploughed Hill.

They labored very hard all night, and at daybreak had the redoubt nearly completed. When the English discovered our defences so near, they began a heavy cannonading which continued all day. They killed with their cannon balls one adjutant and one soldier, and wounded three others with musket balls. These were close to the floating batteries and their field works. Mr. William Simpson of Paxton, a volunteer, was struck by a shot and his foot carried away.

On Monday we were with about fifteen thousand men on Ploughed Hill, as the enemy made every appearance of coming out to storm our works, but thought it not good for their health, and so returned to Boston. They fired several cannon from Bunker Hill, and killed one man on Ploughed Hill. This last point is about six hundred yards from Bunker's, where is their strongest force. Your son Benjamin sends his love to you. He was with me in all this affair."

On March 7th, 1776, the Continental Congress promoted Captain Chambers to the lieutenant colonelcy of "Hand's Rifle Battalion in the Army at Cambridge." He was soon after ordered to the vicinity of New York. The following was written after the battle of Long Island. His commission of colonel of the 1st regiment of continental troops of the Pennsylvania Line is dated September 26th, 1776.

"In Camp at Delamere's Mills, three miles above King's Bridge.

September 3, 1776.

"MY DEAR KITTY: I should have written to you sooner, but the hurry and confusion we have been in for some time past, has hindered me. I will now give you a short account of transactions in this quarter.

On the morning of the 22nd August there were nine thousand British troops on New Utrecht plains. The guard alarmed our small camp, and we assembled at the flagstaff. We marched our forces, about two hundred in number, to New Utrecht to watch the movements of the

enemy. When we came on the hill, we discovered a party of them advancing toward us. We prepared to give them a warm reception, when an imprudent fellow fired, and they immediately halted and turned toward Flatbush. The main body also, moved along the great road toward the same place. We proceeded alongside of them in the edge of the woods as far as the turn of the lane, where the cherry-trees were, if you remember. We then found it impracticable for so small a force to attack them on the plain, and sent Captain Hamilton with twenty men, before them to burn all the grain; which he did very cleverly, and killed a great many cattle. It was then thought most proper to return to camp and secure our baggage, which we did, and left it in Fort Brown. Near 12 o'clock the same day we returned down the great road to Flatbush with only our small regiment, and one New England regiment sent to support us, though at a mile's distance. When in sight of Flatbush, we discovered the enemy, but not the main body; on perceiving us, they retreated down the road perhaps a mile. A party of our people commanded by Captain Miller followed them close with a design to decoy a portion of them to follow him, whilst the rest kept in the edge of the woods alongside of Captain But they thought better of the matter, and would not come after him though he went within two hundred yards. There they stood for a long time, and then Captain Miller turned off to us and we proceeded along their flank.

Some of our men fired upon and killed several Hessians, as we ascertained two days afterwards. Strong guards were maintained all day on the flanks of the enemy,

and our regiment and the Hessian yagers kept up a severe firing, with a loss of but two wounded on our side. We laid a few Hessians low, and made them retreat out of Flatbush. Our people went into the town, and brought the goods out of the burning houses.

The enemy liked to have lost their field-pieces. Captain Steel, of your vicinity, acted bravely. We would certainly have had the cannon had it not been for some foolish person calling retreat. The main body of the foe returned to the town; and when our lads came back, they told of their exploits. This was doubted by some, which enraged our men so much that a few of them ran and brought away several Hessians on their backs. This kind of firing by our riflemen and theirs continued until ten (two?) o'clock in the morning of the 26th, when our regiment was relieved by a portion of the Flying Camp; and we started for Fort Greene to get refreshment, not having lain down the whole of this time, and almost dead with fatigue. We had just got to the fort, and I had only laid down, when the alarm guns were fired. We were compelled to turn out to the lines, and as soon as it was light saw our men and theirs engaged with field-pieces. last, the enemy found means to surround our men there upon guard, and then a heavy firing continued for several hours. The main body that surrounded our men marched up within thirty yards of Forts Brown and Greene: but when we fired, they retreated with loss. From all I can learn, we numbered about twenty-five hundred, and the attacking party not less than twenty-five thousand, as they

had been landing for days before. Our men behaved as bravely as ever men did; but it is surprising that, with the superiority of numbers, they were not cut to pieces. They behaved gallantly, and there are but five or six hundred missing.

General Lord Stirling fought like a wolf, and is taken prisoner. Colonels Miles and Atlee, Major Bird, Captain Peoples, Lieutenant Watt, and a great number of our other officers also prisoners; Colonel Piper missing. From deserters, we learn that the enemy lost Major-General Grant and two Brigadiers, and many others, and five hundred killed. Our loss is chiefly in prisoners.

It was thought advisable to retreat off Long Island; and on the night of the 30th, it was done with great secrecy. Very few of the officers knew it until they were on the boats, supposing that an attack was intended. A discovery of our intention to the enemy would have been fatal to us. The Pennsylvania troops were done great honor by being chosen the corps de reserve to cover the retreat. The regiments of Colonels Hand, Hagan, Shea, and Hazlett were detailed for that purpose. We kept up fires, with outposts stationed, until all the rest were over. We left the lines after it was fair day, and then came off.

Never was a greater feat of generalship shown than in this retreat; to bring off an army of twelve thousand men within sight of a strong enemy, possessed of as strong a

^{1 400.}

² Chambers was lieutenant-colonel of this regiment.

fleet as ever floated on our seas, without any loss, and saving all the baggage.

General Washington saw the last over himself."

"MOUNT PROSPECT CAMP, June, 1777.

* * * * * * * *

* * This day week, we drove the enemy from Brunswick, and I was one of the first officers that entered the town. The advance party took two prisoners, one a Hessian officer. We cannonaded them smartly; and they ran, and left the works as we approached, without firing a gun, though we were within shot of small arms.

This letter, relating to the battle of Brandywine, is without date, but must have been written not long subsequent to its occurrence. Colonel Chambers' command opposed the Hessians under General Knyphausen in his strategical movement of crossing Chadd's Ford to enable Generals Howe and Cornwallis to effect a passage, with the least resistance, at the forks of the stream. In this action, the Colonel received a ball in his right side, which, though not productive of serious inconvenience at the time, by derangement of some internal function, was in later life the source of frequent and harassing illness.

" MY DEAR-

* * * * * * * * *

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^{* *} On the morning of the 11th Sept., 1777, we were apprised that the enemy was advancing; and soon

after heard the engagement between our light troops and their advanced parties. Whilst their main design was in front to our right, the cannon ceased firing except now and then; and small detachments of our troops were constantly skirmishing with them. But in a short while, we found that they had crossed the Brandywine near the forks, and were coming in flank of our right wing. The cannonade commenced about three o'clock, but soon gave way to small arms, which continued like an incessant clap of thunder till within an hour of sunset, when our people Then the attack began with us on the left. I must observe to you that while the right was engaged, the troops that were on the right of our brigade on the hill were drawn off and left our The enemy kept an unright flank quite uncovered. remitted fire from their artillery (and ours too, played with great fury) until advancing under the thick smoke they took possession of the redoubt in front of our park.

As there were no troops to cover the artillery in the redoubt—the enemy was within thirty yards before being discovered—our men were forced to fly and to leave three pieces behind. Our brigade was drawn into line, with the park of artillery two hundred yards in the rear of the redoubt. Our park was ordered off then, and my right exposed. The enemy advanced on the hill where our park was, and came within fifty yards of the hill above me. I then ordered my men to fire. Two or three rounds made the lads clear the ground.

The General sent orders for our artillery to retreat—
it was on my right—and ordered me to cover it with——

of my regiment. It was done, but to my surprise the artillerymen had run and left the howitzer behind. The two field pieces went up the road protected by about sixty of my men, who had very warm work, but brought them safe. I then ordered another party to fly to the howitzer and bring it off. Captain Buchanan, Lieutenant Stimson, and Lieutenant Douglass went immediately to the gun, and the men followed their example, and I covered them with the few I had remaining. But before this could be done, the main body of the foe came within thirty yards, and kept up the most terrible fire I suppose ever heard in America; though with very little loss on our side. brought all the brigade artillery safely off, and I hope to see them again fired at the scoundrels. Yet we retreated to the next height in good order, in the midst of a very heavy fire of cannon and small arms. Not thirty yards distant, we formed to receive them, but they did not choose to follow.

I lost Lieutenants Halliday and Wise killed; Captain Grier was badly wounded, Captain Craig and myself slightly wounded. I have, I suppose, lost six or seven killed, and about the same number wounded. We lost several fine officers out of the brigade."

"CAMP ENGLISHTOWN, June 30th, 1778.

MY DEAR-

I have the pleasure to inform you that on the 28th ult., we gave the enemy a fine drubbing at Freehold Church,

1 This was the battle of Monmouth.

about four miles from this place. The attack commenced at eleven o'clock, and a most violent cannonade continued for nearly five hours; in which time both armies were manœuvring on the right and left. Our Division was drawn in front of our artillery in a small hollow, while the enemy's artillery was placed on an eminence in front of our brigade. Of course, we were in a right line of their fire, both parties playing their cannon over our heads, and yet only killed two of our men, and wounded four of my regiment with splinters of rails. Our army out-generalled them, and at the same time advanced some baggage across a swamp, and drove them before us. They fled in all quarters, and at sunset we had driven them near to Monmouth town. We encamped on the field that night

They left on the ground several officers of distinction, amongst them Colonel Monckton; and yesterday we buried upwards of two hundred and fifty of the bold Britons who were to conquer the world!

I rode over the whole ground, and saw two hundred of their dead. It is surprising that we lost not more than thirty.¹ However, of this I can assure you, that for every ten of them I did not see one of ours killed. During yesterday, our fatigue parties were collecting the dead in piles, and burying them. The enemy is flying with precipitation to the Hook, and we are now on our march to Brunswick. They desert very fast, so watch for news.

J. C."

¹ The British loss was about three hundred killed in battle; the American not seventy, while both armies suffered some mortality from fatigue and the excessive heat.

Lieutenant-Colonel Harmar, Inspector of the Pennsylvania Line, wrote to President Reed, respecting the "State of the regiments comprising Major-General St. Clair's Division:"—

"CAMP, WEST POINT, October 15th, 1779.

Sir: I have the honor of transmitting your Excellency a Return of the strength of the eight regiments which at present compose the Pennsylvania Division, specifying when their times expire. The three other regiments of our Line being detached, cannot be ascertained.

As the whole army now undergoes a monthly inspection I beg leave to state to your Excellency the condition of our troops. Their clothing (which was drawn last fall at Fredericksburg) is now old and tattered. Shirts and blankets greatly wanted and scarcely a good hat in the whole division. The daily and hard fatigue at this post must consequently soon render them still worse. But notwithstanding all these inconveniences, they are well armed and cut as clean and decent an appearance as circumstances can possibly admit.

By reference to the return accompanying the above report, it shows that of Chambers' regiment there were present the colonel, the lieutenant-colonel, one major, five captains, nine lieutenants, two ensigns, one surgeon, twenty-four sergeants, sixteen corporals, thirteen drums and fifes, one hundred and eighty-three privates. Total,

¹ Pa. Archives, vol. vii. p. 750.

two hundred and thirty-six. Enlisted for the war, two hundred and thirty-two; for three years, four.

Total effective force of the division, two thousand three hundred and eighty-six; non-effectives, forty-seven.

After the battle of Monmouth, Colonel Chambers was with the army at White Plains, West Point, and other parts of the country near the Hudson river. His order-books, embracing the period from July 26th, 1778, to August 5th, 1780, have lately been deposited in the library of the Society. They contain the official details of the movements of the 1st regiment and the division with which he was connected; and beyond copies of the orders relative to the attack on Bergen Point, nothing of special import to this narrative.

The following orders of General Wayne show the participation of the 1st regiment and other Pennsylvania troops in the engagement at Bergen Point, and explain Chambers' letter in reference to it.

'AFTER ORDERS, NEW BRIDGE, July 21, 1780.

* * * * * * * *

A detachment from the 1st regiment will prevent the retreat of the refugees towards Paulus Hook—whilst this is performing, the artillery will be preparing to demolish the block houses—every precaution will be used to guard against any serious consequences from up the river; and should the enemy be hardy enough to attempt the relief

of this post from Fort Washington, it may add never fading laurels to troops which have always stepped the first for glory, and who have everything to expect from victory, nothing to dread from disgrace; for although it is not in their power to command success, the general is well assured they will produce a conviction to the world that they deserve it."

" Division Orders, July 23, 1780.

It is with infinite pleasure that General Wayne acknowledges to the worthy officers and soldiers under his command since the 20th inst., that he never saw more true fortitude than that exhibited on the 21st, by the troops immediately at the point of action; such was the enthusiastic bravery of all ranks of officers and men, that the 1st regiment, no longer capable of constraint, rushed with impetuosity over the abattis and up to the stockades, from which they were with difficulty withdrawn; the contagion spread to the 2d, but by the united efforts of the field and other officers of each regiment, they were at last restrained. The general fortunately would not admit of the further advance of the 10th, and the situation of General Irvine's and the other troops, prevented them from experiencing some loss of men; as the same gallant spirit pervaded the whole, they very probably would have shown the same eager desire for close action. The block house was only a

¹ Pa. Archives, vol. viii. p. 451.

France. The brigade was organized and reported for duty; but its services were not required in the field.

When stationed with the army in New York, he became a member of the Masonic order, and was the founder of the Chambersburg lodge, and its master until his resignation in 1804.

He was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, "Instituted by the Officers of the American Army at the Period of its Dissolution, as well to commemorate the great event which gave Independence to North America as for the laudable Purpose of inculcating the Duty of laying down in Peace Arms assumed for public Defence, and of uniting in Acts of brotherly affection and Bonds of perpetual Friendship the Members constituting the same."

Though starting with a liberal estate, his retirement at the close of the war was not marked by exemption from the melancholy fate of shattered constitutions and dilapidated fortunes which awaited the majority of the Revolutionary heroes on their return to private life. He lived in the bland consciousness of having fearlessly striven to promote his country's welfare; and the much-hopedfor end being attained, in peaceful advanced age he encouraged in his children and his neighbors, by precept and example, a sincere love of liberty and direct accountability to God. He died at his residence, at Loudoun Forge, on the evening of the 25th of April, 1805, and was buried with military honors in the last resting-place consecrated by his father.